

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 DHA-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 /060 W

-----161831Z 095960 /53

R 161425Z JUN 77

FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1036

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY MUNICH

AMCONSUL THESSALONIKI

AMCONSUL TRIESTE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMCONSUL ZAGREB

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 4055

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT CSCE YO

SUBJ: SELF-MANAGING PLURALISM AND THE ROLE OF THE LC

REF: BELGRADE 3818

1. SUMMARY: MAJOR ADDRESS BY LEADING THEORETICIAN OF  
YUGOSLAV SOCIALISM, EDVARD KARDELJ, CONFIRMS  
PRESIDENT CARTER'S STATEMENT THAT TODAY "I DON'T  
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BELIEVE THERE IS A SINGLE LEADER OF A NATION ON EARTH  
WHO DOESN'T HAVE WITHIN HIS OR HER CONSCIOUSNESS A CONCERN  
ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS". RESPONDING TO THE TWIN CHALLENGES  
OF EURO-COMMUNISM AND HUMAN RIGHTS, KARDELJ JUSTIFIED  
THE PRESENT YUGOSLAV POLITICAL SYSTEM, WHICH HE DESCRIBED  
AS "SELF-MANAGING PLURALISM". THE SPEECH WAS VINTAGE  
KARDELJ - LONG, IMPRECISE, WITH SOMETHING FOR EVERYONE.

HE BOTH STRESSED THE LEADING, ELITIST ROLE OF THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS AND ACKNOWLEDGED THE NEED FOR GREATER DEMOCRACY. NO SPECIFIC REFORMS WERE ANNOUNCED NOR CAN THEY BE FORESEEN FROM THE CONTENT OF THE SPEECH, BUT KARDELJ'S IDEAS HAVE BEEN APPROVED AS THE POLITICAL BASIS NEXT YEAR'S ELEVENTH PARTY CONGRESS. END SUMMARY.

KARDELJ SPOKE TO THE PRESIDUM OF THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS (LC) ON JUN 13. HIS TOPIC WAS "THE BASES OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF SOCIALIST SELF-MANAGING DEMOCRACY". HIS ADDRESS WAS A SUMMARY OF A LARGER WORK WHICH WAS DISTRIBUTED AT THE MEETING AND, WE UNDERSTAND, WILL BE LATER PUBLISHED AS A BOOK. EVEN THE PUBLISHED TEXT OF KARDELJ'S ADDRESS MAY BE INCOMPLETE, ACCORDING TO A YUGOSLAV JOURNALIST.

3. KARDELJ'S BASIC THESES IS THAT IT IS TIME TO ADJUST THE POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS OF YUGOSLAVIA TO THE SELF-MANAGING SYSTEM OF ECONOMIC RELATIONS. HE REJECTS FIRMLY EITHER A ONE-PARTY OR A MULTI-PARTY POLITICAL SYSTEM IN WHICH THE RULING PARTY CONTROLS THE GOVERNMENT AS A MONOPOLY. HE CONSIDERS WESTERN DEMOCRATIC SYSTEMS AT SOME LENGTH, NOTING THAT THEY CAN BE EITHER PROGRESSIVE OR REACTIONARY BUT THAT IN ANY CASE THEY ARE NOT A MODEL FOR YUGOSLAVIA. HE REJECTS THE IDEA THAT HUMAN FREEDOM AND HUMAN RIGHTS CAN ONLY BE GUARANTEED UNDER A BOURGEOIS LIBERAL SYSTEM.

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4. ADAPTING THE RHETORIC OF DEMOCRACY, KARDELJ DESCRIBES THE YUGOSLAV SYSTEM AS "SELF-MANAGING PLURALISM", OR "THE PLURALISM OF THE INTERESTS OF SELF-MANAGING COMMUNITIES INTEGRATED IN THE DELEGATE SYSTEM."

5. THE TERM IS NEW BUT THE MEANING SEEMS TO BE MORE OR LESS THE PRESENT POLITICAL SYSTEM. KARDELJ EMPHASIZES THE IMPORTANCE OF THE LEADING ROLE OF THE LC. HE REJECTS SPONTANEITY AS A GOVERNING POLITICAL CONCEPT AND ARGUES THAT THE LC AND OTHER "FACTORS OF SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS MUST BE PRESENT FOR SELF-MANAGERS AND THEIR ORGANIZATIONS TO REALIZE THEIR TRUE INTERESTS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE GENERAL PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT OF SOCIETY AND CONTEMPORARY MANKIND". HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE LC IS A MINORITY, BUT SAYS THAT, AS THE "IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL AVANT-GARDE OF THE WORKING CLASS" IT IS AN EXPRESSION OF THE INTERESTS OF THE MAJORITY. KARDELJ ARGUES FOR STRUGGLE AGAINST THE ENEMIES OF SELF-MANAGEMENT AND AN END TO INTERNAL ARGUMENTS ON THE SOCIAL ROLE OF THE LC. WITHOUT

ELABORATION, HE SAID THESE ARGUMENTS HAVE INVOLVED THE SOCIAL-POLITICAL CHAMBERS OF GOVERNMENTAL ASSEMBLIES, THE ROLE OF THE LC IN THE PRESIDENCIES OF THE REPUBLICS AND THE PROVINCES, AND THE FORMATION OF THE FEDERAL COUNCILS.

6. WHILE BASICALLY JUSTIFYING THE PRESENT POLITICAL SYSTEM KARDELJ EMPHASIZES CERTAIN SHORTCOMINGS AS WELL. HE SAYS THAT THE PARTY AND OTHER SOCIAL-POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS HAVE OFTEN INFLUENCED OTHER ORGANS OF SELF-MANAGEMENT DIRECTLY. IN PLACE OF SUCH DIRECT INFLUENCE HE ARGUES FOR "DEMOCRATIC COOPERATION" WITH ALL SOCIALIST FORCES.

7. KARDELJ ACKNOWLEDGES THAT THERE HAVE BEEN GAPS BETWEEN IDEALS AND ACTUAL PRACTICE IN THE AREA OF DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN FREEDOM. HE ATTRIBUTES THIS BOTH

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TO OBJECTIVE AND SUBJECTIVE FACTORS, THE FORMER BEING LIKELY TO LIMIT THE CHANCES FOR FURTHER DEMOCRATIZATION FOR SOME TIME TO COME. THESE OBJECTIVE FACTORS HE DESCRIBES AS THE STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT OF REVOLUTION AND SOCIETY, THE RELATION OF SOCIAL FORCES, THE SEVERITY OF SOCIAL CONFLICTS AND THE INFLUENCE OF INTERNATIONAL CONFRONTATIONS. AMONG THE SUBJECTIVE FACTORS HE CITES ARE BUREAUCRATIC CENTRALISM, TECHNOCRATISM, OPPORTUNISM AND INDIVIDUAL AMBITIONS. KARDELJ ARGUES THAT INSTABILITY IS A SOURCE OF "UNDEMOCRACY" AND HE SAYS "ONLY THE

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ACTION EUR-12

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BELGRADE 4055

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y F O R T E X T

STABILITY OF KEY POSITIONS OF THE SYSTEM WHICH GUARANTEES  
THE LEADING ROLE OF A CERTAIN CLASS IN POWER MAKES  
POSSIBLE THE DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRACY."

8. AT SEVERAL PLACES IN HIS SPEECH KARDELJ EMPHASIZES  
CERTAIN TASKS WHICH MUST BE UNDERTAKEN IN THE FUTURE,  
BUT HE IS CHARACTERISTICALLY VAGUE. HE CALLS FOR:  
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MAKING ONE POLITICAL SYSTEM MORE EFFECTIVE, ENRICHING

THE SYSTEM TO PROVIDE FOR MORE DIRECT AND FREER  
EXPRESSION OF "THE PLURALISM OF SELF-MANAGING INTERESTS  
WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF SELF-MANAGEMENT", ADAPTING  
POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS TO THE SOCIALIST AND SELF-  
MANAGING CHARACTER OF ECONOMIC RELATIONS, CHANGING THE  
DIRECTION AND MANNER OF DEMOCRATIC COMMUNICATION AMONG  
POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS, AND MORE CLEARLY DEFINING THE ROLE

OF "SUBJECTIVE FACTORS" IN SOCIETY AND PARTICULARLY  
THE LEADING ROLE OF THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS. HE SAYS IT IS  
TIME FOR "LEGAL AND OTHER SOCIAL MEASURES" TO IMPLEMENT POLITICAL  
ASPECTS OF THE CONSTITUTION.

9. COMMENT: KARDELJ'S SPEECH IS A THEORETICAL RATIONALE  
FOR THE YUGOSLAV POLITICAL SYSTEM. KARDELJ IS RESPONDING  
TO THE JOINT CHALLENGES OF EURO-COMMUNISM AND WESTERN  
CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. HE WOULD NOT HAVE NEEDED TO  
GIVE SUCH A SPEECH THREE YEARS AGO. YUGOSLAV JOURNALIST

TOLD US THAT HE RESERVES JUDGMENT ON THE SPEECH BECAUSE HE DOES NOT HAVE THE FULL TEXT, BUT THAT THE ADDRESS DOES NOT SEEM TO HERALD A NEW LIBERAL ERA. AN FSFA OFFICIAL SAW ITS MAIN SIGNIFICANCE AS ATTEMPTING TO OPEN UP DECISION-MAKING TO MORE INTEREST GROUPS THAN JUST THE LCY. CONSENSUS AMONG DIPLOMATS WITH WHOM WE HAVE SPOKEN IS THAT FEW CONCRETE IMPLICATIONS CAN BE DRAWN FROM THE SPEECH. THE TERM "SELF-MANAGING PLURALISM", BUT LITTLE ELSE, IS NEW. AN EASTERN EUROPEAN DIPLOMAT SUGGESTS THAT KARDELJ SAID IN MANY WORDS WHAT THE YUGOSLAVS DISCOVERED LONG AGO: IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO BUILD SOCIALISM WITHOUT A STRONG COMMUNIST PARTY.

10. WE HAVE SOME HINTS OF THE CONTENTS OF THE FULL KARDELJ REPORT: ONE EASTERN-EUROPEAN UNDERSTANDS FROM A YUGOSLAV WHO READ THE ENTIRE TEXT THAT IT CONTAIN SPECIFIC  
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CRITICISM OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM IN CHINA, THE SOVIET UNION, AND OTHER COMMUNIST COUNTRIES. THE YUGOSLAV JOURNALIST UNDERSTANDS THAT KARDELJ ALSO HAD A GOOD DEAL TO SAY ABOUT EURO-COMMUNISM AND THAT PRESIDENCY MEMBER PETER STAMBOLIC MADE INTERESTING BUT UNREPORTED REMARKS ON THE SUBJECT DURING THE DISCUSSION.

11. WE ARE STRUCK BY KARDELJ'S USE OF WESTERN RHETORIC (DEMOCRACY, PLURALISM) TO DESCRIBE A SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT WHICH IS DEMOCRATIC AND PLURALISTIC ONLY IN COMPARISON WITH MORE DICTATORIAL REGIMES. DEMOCRATIC AND LIBERAL ELEMENTS IN HIS SPEECH IN OUR OPINION WERE BALANCED BY SOPS TO THE HARD-LINERS SUCH AS DEFINING STABILITY AS A PRECONDITION FOR DEMOCRACY AND TALKING ABOUT THE DANGER OF THE ENEMIES OF SELF-MANAGEMENT.

12 KARDELJ AND YUGOSLAVIA, HWOEVER ARE CLEARLY GRAPPLING WITH LIBERAL IDEAS, TO A SUBSTANTIAL EXTENT BECAUSE OF EMPHASIS WHICH THE U.S. HAS GIVEN TO HUMAN RIGHTS. IN THE LONG RUN THE PRESSURE WHICH THIS AMERICAN INTEREST EXERTS--IF IT IS HANDLED WITH DISCRETION--CAN HELP NUDGE YUGOSLAVIA TOWARD GREATER AND GREATER FREEDOM.  
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